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Embodying *Mallorquiness* through Performativity and Narration of *Mallorquin* Dance

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The Mallorcan dancers' sense of embodying *Mallorquiness* as stylistic qualities of their stage performances, produces in them a sense of representing a double identity: one for themselves in social contexts performing improvised dances as a contemporary image to each other, and another that is more ancient and projects the romantic nationalism associated with the dances' origins in stage presentations for tourists. It is the stage presentations that are a focus of this paper, where an ancient identity is created in the visual imagery of the Mallorcan dancers' performances as a reconstruction of their past. This paper explores the relationship between the embodied agency of the dancers and the influences of tourism as part of the cultural production of historical representation of the island's cultural traditions. Embodiment is in this sense construed through the influences of tourism, which is concomitant with the Mallorcan dancers' performative identities and embodying *Mallorquiness*.

Key words: Embodiment, Dance, Mallorca, Culture, Improvisation, Narration, Performativity, Heritage, Nationalism, and Identity.

For a video clip of Mallorquin dance click here: <http://youtu.be/-uB4mfpmPMwk>

Introduction

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the development of *Mallorquin* dance happened in parallel with the *Fomento del Turismo de Mallorca* (Promotion of Tourism) in 1905. Since then, the relationship between the embodied agency of the Mallorcan dancers and the influences of tourism has become part of the cultural production of theatrical performances representing the Island's cultural traditions. Embodiment is, in this sense, construed through the influences of tourism and the Mallorcan dancers' embodiment of *Mallorquiness* in portraying the dances' origins and cultural history. It is also a reflection of presenting two different modes of embodying *Mallorquin* dance, choreography and improvisation. This has meant that dance has been devised for two different audiences of locals and tourists. A performative identity is produced for tourist consumption, and is also embodied in stage presentations for local audiences, whereas a contemporary identity is embodied for themselves in social recreation at the *ballada* (dance). It is the stage presentations that are a focus of this paper, where a more traditional identity is created in the visual imagery of the Mallorcan dancers' performances as a reconstruction of their past. Within this context, narration is employed to authenticate the origins of the dances and to conceptualise a former historical presence of their ancestors.

Ethnographic fieldwork was carried out between 2003-2007 in short intervals, over a period of four years in Mallorca at the *Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca*, which is based in the capital city, Palma, in the south of the island; and the folk dance group, *Aires Sollerics*, in Soller, in the north west of the island. Fieldwork was also undertaken at the *ballada*, a social dance event held in towns and villages throughout the island.

The methodological approach of this paper is dance ethnography, which is defined by ethnographic fieldwork that places dance at its centre. I draw upon kinetic tradition in dance as fieldwork practice, and it deals with archival sources in the translations of Mallorcan authors' literary texts. The texts are further mediated by present performers' perceptions of the *Mallorquin* dances in the local community. The mediation of texts follows other work documented by Buckland in which she addresses performers' narratives in assigning meaning to the origins of their dances. Buckland argues that the Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers' explanations of origin narratives cannot be dismissed as evidence of outdated scholarship. She argues that, 'they are also a means of claiming cultural capital' (2002: 426).

Translators were used to undertake some of the translations of articles in a bi-lingual context of Catalan and Castilian. The fieldwork also employed standard ethnographic techniques, such as participant-observation, fieldnotes, recorded interviews, questionnaires, video recordings, photography, and informal discussions. In this paper, I use the word *Mallorquin* when describing the cultural traditions of dance and music, derived from the *Mallorqui* dialect of the Catalan language spoken in Mallorca. *Mallorqui* has the same spellings as the Catalan language but the pronunciations are different. When I refer to the island of Mallorca, I use the Castilian and Catalan spelling Mallorca and not the English spelling Majorca.

Historical, and Cultural Influences on *Mallorquin* Dance.

The modern story begins during the Francoist era (1939-1975), when dance was placed under the *Departamento de Música* (Music Department) of the *Sección Femenina* (Women's Division of the Falange Party). Within this political environment, the *Sección Femenina* exerted their control through the *Coros y Danzas* (Choral and Dances) and was finally disbanded in 1977. The *Sección Femenina* were supposedly created to preserve traditions and also to instruct women in housework and handicrafts (Casero-Garcia, 1999: 255). The modernising social changes that were to take place within the local Mallorcan community did not really happen until the 1960s, when not only musical influences came from outside the island but also economic change in the form of mass tourism. Initially, the tourist trade in the 1960s was built for the cheaper scale hotels and visitors, and only a few luxury hotels were built at the higher end of the scale. This created a young and mainly British working class

clientele that was intent on buying into the often-quoted phrase and premise of sea, sand and sex. Hazel Andrews (2011: 172), for example, has described overt displays of sexuality performed by young British revellers on holiday in Mallorca. The Balearic government, in order to counteract the image of the 'lager lout' youth culture, have since in the 1990s created the promotion of '*agro-tourisme*', to appeal to middle class tourists (Govern de les illes Balears, 2008). This has meant that old historic mansion buildings were restored and converted into elegant hotel rooms in scenic country settings.

The revival of dance at the end of the 1970s foregrounded improvisation as a technique for performing traditional dance, and contributed to changing the teaching practices at a majority of dance schools in Mallorca. Bartomeu Enseñat, the founder of the *Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca* in 1975, revived *jotas*, *boleros* and *fandangos*, also known as *ball de bot* (jumping dances) as an improvised dance form. Enseñat's proclaimed sources for the dances are interviews that he carried out with Mallorcan villagers between 1958 and 1973. The interviews with the village elders are published in his book, *Folklore de Mallorca* (1975), along with descriptions of the popular dances and folklore traditions. His interviews focus on *Mallorquin* dances derived from a kinetic tradition and oral transmission of dance, using the village elders' descriptions of dances performed at the beginning of the twentieth century. In contrast, Guillem Bernat, the founder and director of *Aires Sollerics* (1969), as a historian and antiquarian has reconstructed eighteenth and nineteenth century choreographed dances from the European court and *Escuela Bolero* (*Bolero School*). An antiquarian's interest lies within the historical artifices of the past; Bernat has reworked some of the dances and created new music from old manuscripts that he found in archives in Mallorca and Madrid. He believes that the antiquity of the eighteenth century dances give them a more rightful air over the national dances of Spain in the 1940s.

A few dance schools continue to teach the choreographed dances derived from the dance repertoire of the *Sección Femenina*. Bernat, for example, is one such person who has reconstructed dances from their repertoire, and considers that the *jotas* they perform from the repertoire of the *Sección Femenina* are not exactly the same, but they still have a similar complicated floor pattern. He explained that he had "cleaned up the *jotas espectacular*" of the *Sección Femenina* by eliminating their extensive use of props, and also by modifying their floor patterns. He suggests though, that the *agrupaciones* of the *Sección Femenina* were spoilt by the national competitions of Spain, and later tourism.

The *agrupaciones* tended to create new music, new varieties, and new dances including large choreographies and at the end, the original dances lost their

appearance, some too ceremonious, others with accelerated rhythms in order to make it more spectacular (Bernat 1993: 10).

Aires Sollerics is a continuation of *Brot de Taronger* in Soller, founded by Gaspar Nadal (1951). The school is based at the *Dulce Centre de Cultura* in the street, Gran Via, in the small busy town of Soller. Soller is thirty-five kilometres from Palma and three kilometres inland from the Port de Soller. It lies in the same valley as the village of Fornalutx and the hamlet of Biniarix, and is part of the municipalities of Soller, Bunyola, Deià and Escorca, which are situated in the middle of the *Serra de Tramuntana* (mountain range). Soller was fairly isolated from the rest of the island and the outside world, until the railway was built in 1912 connecting Soller to Palma. Before the spectacular zigzag Soller *paso* (mountain pass) was built, and more recently the road tunnel, 'it was easier in the past to travel to the Roussillon region of France from the port of Soller than it was to travel to the capital city of Palma' (Bernat, 2004: personal communication. February). Consequently, many people in Soller have both French and Mallorcan ancestors.

Performativity and Narration: Embodying *Mallorquiness*

Tourism can create a blurring of the boundaries between fantasy and reality, for visitors and locals alike that, for instance, creates an environment that interacts on the dancers' perceptions of their 'real' selves, and their 'performative' selves, an image that they project for tourists. In the creation of a double identity, one that defines self in social contexts performing improvised dances as a contemporary image to each other, and another that it is claimed to be more ancient and projects the romantic nationalism associated with the dances' origins in stage presentations for tourists. The Mallorcan directors are now readdressing the meaning of tradition for themselves in educational workshops and rewriting their folkloric history. The *jotas* were a continuing theme of the Mallorcans' rural village life in the nineteenth century. In contrast, the *boleros* signify a period of nationalism throughout Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and reflect a broader representation of Spanish nationalism during that period.

I found that in order to bridge the gap between the past and the present, the dancers often used narration as a structural element of their stage performances for tourists and locals alike. Narrative was a means for dance practitioners to contextualise what they perceived to be the historical and authentic origins of the dances and traditions. I also discovered that narrative is useful for presenting a specific view on important historical periods, but at the same time omitting particular periods. The dancers of the *Escola de Música i Danses de Mallorca*, for instance, ignored the era of Franco's reign in their performances, as a selective

history of their dances were performed. I argue that by leaving out any references to dance during the Franco period, this particular void emphasises their dislike of the fascism associated with *ball de bot* derived from the repertoire of the *Sección Femenina*. Stuart Hall argues (2000: 18) that if identities are only 'read against the grain,' they are constantly destabilised by what is left out, and asks how we can understand their meanings. Hall is referring to not fixing the play of difference to their point of origin but rather to what is construed through difference.

Narration is also used to enhance the visual imagery of a former historical presence of their ancestors' lives in educational workshops. A specific symbol of the narration at the school in Palma was a reference to the War of Independence in 1808-1814. The *bolero* at this point was symbolic of the national resistance against the French and Napoleonic invasion of Spain. Mallorcan Musicologist, Xisco Vallcaneras' narration of the *Escola de Música i Danses* performance as part of a series of educational workshops at the *Teatro Principal* in Palma, related this period not only to nationalist sentiment but also to the importance and symbolism associated with Andalusian fashion.

In Andalusia, there was in every port a kind of people who were very important: the sailors, smugglers, and the bad people of taverns, people of music and song, that all had a special name, they were called *Boleros*. So, from the nobility to the common people everybody accepted the Andalusian fashion. Remember also that nobles like Goya were dressed like *Majos* (Vallcaneras, 2004: fieldnotes, video recording).

Suárez-Pajares (1993: 8) also suggests that Spanish urban society with a middle or upper class was further divided in the Spaniards' style of dress, between the influences of the European *currutacos* (dandies), particularly the French, English and Italian on one side, and the Spanish lower urban class of *majas* (women of urban lower class) on the other. *Majisimo* refers to Madrid's rejection of French reform in the eighteenth century by imitating the influences of urban plebeian fashions, such as the *maja*. Scholar, Enrique Ablanado (1993: 59) considers that during the first half of the nineteenth century, the early dance academies of Andalusia were important sites for transforming Andalusian dancers into expert practitioners. He suggests that popular Andalusian dance ceased to be a participatory form and 'a gulf opened between expert practitioners and the non expert spectators' that paid to watch dance performed in the tavernas (ibid). His observation is comparable with Javier Suárez-Pajares findings that during the nineteenth century, theatre impresarios introduced the *bolero* into the theatre as an opening act performed by professional dancers (1993: 10). Suárez-Pajares believes that this theatrical form of the *bolero* gave rise to what is known

today as the *Escuela Bolero* (Bolero School). He argues that, 'everything seems to indicate that it was in Paris that the development of our *Bolero* School was going forward' (1993: 8). This is an important point because Soller has close connections to France through the French farmers and merchants, who lived there in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Soller was more isolated than the rest of the island, mainly because of crossing the treacherous mountains surrounding the town to reach Palma. George Sand's (1956: 96) account of her journey in 1838 from Palma to Valldemossa with Chopin on a horse-drawn carriage, confirms how hazardous it was passing through the *Serra de Tramuntana*, a mountain region. This isolation led Soller to a certain extent to develop a micro culture with many influences from the French and later the South American merchants who settled in Soller. The merchants exported oranges and lemons grown in the orange and lemon groves around the Soller countryside to France. It is possible that a second wave of the *boleros* dissemination in Mallorca from the Spanish mainland did not arrive until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

There are differences of opinion within the local dance community on how some of these dances, such as the *jotas*, *boleros*, and *fundangos* arrived in Mallorca. Palma was the first port of call for the Andalusian population of Spanish immigrants, who are now the largest group of domestic immigrants living on the island.

Originally only noble families danced the *bolero* and Mallorca had only the *mateixas* and *jotas* in the countryside. For example the *bailes de salon* (ballroom dances) are the court dances, which in Mallorca is where the *boleros* began (Bernat, 2004: fieldnotes, recorded interview).

Dancers at the school in Palma consider that their artistic style of performing dance reflects more the Andalusian dance trajectory. Vallcaneras in his narration of a performance at the *Teatro Principal*, recounts the importance of Andalusia to local audiences concerning the traditional dances arrival in Mallorca.

The dances came from outside of the island at the start of the nineteenth century because of the War of Independence [Peninsular War], when we demonstrated against French culture. These demonstrations resulted in an explosion of Spanish nationalism, and it was at this point in history [1808-1814] throughout the south of Spain in Andalusia, the only area that France could not occupy, from where the Mallorcans received all their dances (Vallcaneras, 2004: fieldnotes, video recording).

I found that external influences on the dancers' stylistic modes of embodiment revealed that aesthetic differences are construed within the approaches of the Mallorcan choreographers.

Dancers from the *Escola de Música i Danses*, for instance, are taught that the upper part of the woman's back tilts backwards in the final pose of *bien parado* (good stop), forming an arc curve mirroring that of her partner. In order to regain a balance of the body's trunk in this position, her partner's arm is wrapped around her waist as a continuation of this movement before coming to a final pose. The dancers also perform this movement with either the man catching the woman balanced backwards over their bent knee, or in a standing position holding each other's waists. Bernat states that an Andalusian teacher who joined the Palma school instigated the dancers' stylistic qualities of embodying dance, and he was influenced by the Roma.

His name was Julian, and he was around at the same time as Enseñat, who found this man. He liked his dancing a lot because he had a very gypsy-like style and form, very exaggerated. Also he made a style, that when the dance finished, the man and the woman would hold each other. This in the eighteenth and nineteenth century would be unthinkable. I do not like this style for my group (Bernat, 2004: fieldnotes, recorded interview).

Figure 1. Dancers performing *bien parado* (good stop) at Port Alcudia, Mallorca, August 2008.



(Author photograph).

As a result of Soller's past geographical isolation, the development of dance in Soller and its surrounding region is different to the rest of the island. Bernat used the concept of preservation in his reconstructions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century European court

dances, to preserve dance as part of Mallorca's intangible heritage. He considers that because of the French influences on dance in Soller, a woman called Joana Vila, who was born in Valldemossa over seventy-five years ago and later moved to Soller was the person responsible for reintroducing the dances to Soller.

Joana brought the popular dance back to our town, which was an industrial town. In an interview, she said that her father who was at the time eighty years old taught her to dance when she was eleven years of age. Going into detail, the way she learnt to dance stems from over one hundred at sixty years ago. We can be sure that there are not many differences, because there was no special interest in doing it a different way, as it happened to others in the after-war in order to perform great shows for the tourists, or for the competitions, such as the national competitions of the *Coros y Danzas* (Bernat, 1993: 7).¹

A majority of the *fandangos* in Mallorca were lost for over forty years, and were only reinstated around sixteen years ago. The reconstructed eighteenth century *fandangos* performed by *Aires Sollerics* consist of a basic step, called *primer* (first), which is similar to that of a *balancé* or waltz. A *balancé* is a technical term used for a waltz step in ballet terminology. The *primer* step of the *fandango* is taught almost the same as a waltz step with the same 3/4 lyrical musical qualities, stepping down on the first step and rising up on the toes of the second and third smaller steps. In comparison, the dancers at the *Escola de Música i Danses* perform the *fandango - Menorca* with the arms held open high above the shoulders, and the basic step, No.1 travels sideways. These dance movements and steps are performed to a 6/8 rhythm and have fast feet patterns with more short clipped steps. I recall my feelings in coming to terms with the process of studying the improvised *fandango* taught at the *Escola de Música i Danses*:

I am immersed in the practicalities of dancing the fandango and my concentration is directed towards my feet tapping out the rhythm to the music. Suddenly, I arrive at a place suspended in time with only a rhythmic motion driving me as I glide across the floor. I had arrived at a key moment in mastering the improvisatory dances with the realisation that the physical release in dancing, came without dwelling too much on how the next step would begin to form or take place. My embodied response is an intrinsic part of the spontaneity involved in dance improvisation, when time is replaced by a seemingly fluid quality of movement (Author's Fieldnotes, 2005: November. Palma, Mallorca).

¹ Translation by Catalan, Manel Heredero, De Mountfort University, Leicester. April 2003.

Differences in the music pertain to different cultural traditions, and the musical instruments accompanying the dances. Vallcaneras in his role as a narrator for a performance of the *Escola de Música i Danses* at the *Teatro Principal* states that,

Rondalles (Mallorcan bands) is also the word for our historical legends. In those times there were only three musical instruments, the *Xeremier* (bagpipe) the *faviol* (flute) and the *tamborino* (tambourine). The Mallorcan people have danced for centuries to these instruments. And when the foreign *boleros* and *jotas* arrived, they kept dancing to the same musical instruments (Vallcaneras, 2004: fieldnotes, video recording).

Aires Sollerics' eighteenth century *boleros* are preceded by an introductory 'salute', similar to a curtsy or *reverência* performed in masque and court dances. Bernat considers that "You had to begin with a man and woman who go to the centre of the room, salute, return, and start the dance, which is always in a symmetric form". Bernat explains that,

The *bolero* that arrived in Mallorca in the eighteenth century was a ballroom dance. More specifically they were dances of gentlemen, of noblemen. A dance for cultured people. We can see this from the types of instruments used. For example, for the *boleros* we need instruments that play melodies, like the violin, lute, and banduria, and for the *jota* we only need a guitar (tro-ca-tro-ca-tron, tro-ca-tro-ca-tron) and singing, but for the *bolero* it is more complicated. For this reason, I say that we needed a bit more culture to play the *bolero* compared to the *jota* (Bernat, 2004: interview).

Other stylistic differences are shown in the arms and carriage of the body with the Soller dancers possessing a more upright posture, befitting dances performed in the European courts of the eighteenth century. The transmission of the dances' stately style is of paramount importance to Bernat's reconstructions of dances. It is not only the tradition that underpins the dances' reconstruction, but also his initial motivation for their reconstruction. He has in one sense taken on the mantle of what heritage organizations protect. Preservation as a practice has some relevance to assimilating a heritage of dances.

Heritage organisations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing because they are no longer occupied or functioning or valued will survive. It does this by adding the value of pastness, exhibition, difference, and where possible indigeneity (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995: 370).

Dances that have been revived or preserved are often placed between two poles, one of evolving and changing through time – a living tradition, and secondly, as an antiquity frozen

in time similar to that of a museum piece. When people are themselves, the medium of ethnographic representation in performances, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 18) argues, they can become living signs of themselves as part of the display. I consider that dances portrayed for tourists with the use of narration to frame the dances' historical origins, could inadvertently also make the dancers appear as part of the antiquity of exhibition. It is possible though to bring the audience into the performance, as Vallcaneras did on one occasion by using humour in his narrations. He also invited members of the audience up on to the stage to dance with the group. This invoked a performative exchange between performers and spectators, and gave an additional dynamic that brought the spectators in to the performance space. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 18) states, in ethnographic representations of display, people can become living signs of themselves. I argue, however, that by directly involving an audience member, a barrier was removed from the historical process of exhibition and display. Spectators are never passive, as a prolific amount of writing by performance theorists have proved (see Phelan, 1993: 163). The audience members' active role in the process of display minimised the historicity of the exhibition qualities of the dance. The interruption provided by the exchange of roles became a lived actuality of the present dancers' performance practices.

Performing Homage to Ancestors: Costumes

Bernat established workshops on traditional tailoring methods that are dedicated to the preservation of traditional costumes. *Aires Sollerics'* wardrobe of costumes is vast and includes everyday, peasant attire worn for rural work, and elegant finery worn by nobles for special occasions, which range from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. These costumes are an important aspect of the school and a distinguishing feature of the group's identity. In a demonstration of *Aires Sollerics'* costumes and dances at the *Teatro Municipal Xesc Forteza*, Palma, Bernat uses narration to explain the historical periods of the costumes worn throughout the centuries.

There is a special *menestral* (tradesman) outfit to give status to those who developed a trade. It would consist of more colours. These colours would be named after living things and not have 'given names' like 'red' or 'blue,' but the colour of 'blood' and the colour of the 'sea' (Bernat, 2006: fieldnotes, video recording).

These vivid descriptions provide a graphic landscape of their ancestors, whose work as local tradesmen contributed to the Mallorcan economy throughout the centuries, and they too have become part of the cultural production in the present. The dancers have told me many times that they want to pay homage to their ancestors from the past. This is not generated through the identification of racial difference between self and 'other,' although they

occasionally make references to their Moorish heritage and ancestors (see Bhabha (1994: 51) on Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1991), which reveals the doubling of identity).

Figure 2. A dancer wearing the nineteenth century noble costume during *Fires i Festes* Procession, Soller, May 2005.



(Author Photograph).

Instead, it is shown through the way that a distant ancestor is brought in to the present by the dancer's representation of their ancestor in particular contexts. The female dancer may represent the position of an ancestor in a religious procession, by wearing the traditional regional costume and by adorning their ancestor's hair worn in a plait reaching down to their waist. Kathy Wray, a dancer suggests that "There are so many generations who have kept a plait at some time or another; people just borrow one from within their families, a grandmother or so on" (Wray, 2003: fieldnotes, recorded interview).

The distinctions between casual and evening dress, and between peasant attire and noble attire were not part of the aesthetic principles of the *Sección Femenina*. They wore the peasants' working rural costumes, which were sometimes made from cheap furniture fabric and were less colourful with a plain black bodice and white blouse. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the basic peasant outfit for women consisted of a heavy petticoat and a skirt made in two pieces gathered together around the hips. The peasant apron is also made

of striped patterned material, tied at the back. Under the skirt is an undergarment, a *pololo*, which consists of bloomers to below the knee. Casero-Garcia (1995:256) suggests that the *Sección Femenina* required that this undergarment should be worn, as the dancers were not allowed to show their legs if their skirts flared out. Mallorcan dancers still wear this undergarment today in performances.

Bernat's narration outlining the history of costumes at the *Teatro Xesc Forteza*, describes specific outfits, such as clothes worn to Mass.

In the nineteenth century there was a special outfit for coming out of church, *Sa Sortida de Missa* (the exit from Mass), which was the basic noble outfit with many accessories. The ladies' blouses had fourteen to twenty buttons, and a white under-shirt with an Italian style *collaretto* (collar). They also wore jewels and would conceal their faces under a *terna* (veil) and *rebosillo* (headdress) until they got home, where they would remove it and wear an embroidered apron instead, which was just for show. The men wore silk trousers gathered at the knee, a headscarf and a rosary, of which these were either male or female rosaries (Bernat, 2006: fieldnotes, video recording).

The men's costume consists of '*calçons*', which are wide trousers gathered at the knee similar to Turkish pants, and a white shirt with long sleeves and a cummerbund. In fact this costume has not changed very much throughout the centuries with only minor changes in the quality of material used, which became more colourful in the nineteenth century. Men also wear *guardapits* (breast-guards) similar to waistcoats. One significant difference in the various folk dance groups' costumes pertains to a folk dance group from Selva, who has a custom of dressing to please the tourists. Wray explains that, "They have a small theatre in Selva and the tourists used to come especially to watch *Mallorquin* dancing". The dancers wear thick bustles tied round their waist to make their hips look much larger than they actually are. Wray states,

In the old days they would put their bustles under their skirts to make sure they exaggerated their buttocks. I mean we wouldn't be seen dead like that now. You want to look as slim as you can, but they still wear them to dance for the tourists (Wray, 2003: fieldnotes, recorded interview).

The traditional costumes play a significant part in educational workshops in creating distinctive identities between the Mallorcan dance schools and the Spanish peninsula. An ancient identity is created in the visual imagery of the dancers' stage performances as a reconstruction of their past. The costumes have been preserved as an important part of

their history that was neglected under Franco, but their use is deemed for stage presentations or religious occasions and not for social contexts of dance.

Conclusions

The Mallorcan dancers have portrayed themselves as part of the cultural production of historical representation, and placed themselves as bearers of the origins and traditions, which is comparable with Buckland's (2001) findings of the British Britannia Coco-Nut Dancers. Mallorcan directors have used their beliefs to stimulate an interest in Mallorca's cultural heritage, reflecting Bourdieu's (1993) idea of the production of belief as contributing to an economy of symbolic goods. Bourdieu (1993: 76) suggests that charismatic ideology is the ultimate basis of 'belief' in the value of a work of art, and it is the basis of functioning in the field of production and circulation of cultural commodities. The exchange value can only exist where there are already established patterns of symbolic capital and relates directly to the producer or valuer, and in this case it is the Mallorcan folk dance directors who have imposed their values on reviving *Mallorquin* dance.

Tourists' expectations of the island's cultural traditions are incorporated in the historical narrative of the dances' origins to enhance the island's image through its ancient folkloric past. The symbolism associated with specific periods in Mallorca through dance, is attributed to the sentiment imparted by the dancers and folkloric experts to this period, and also contributes to the cultural production in the present via their stage presentations. Narrative was a means not only for locals to contextualise what they perceived to be the historical and authentic origins of the dances and traditions, but to produce a compacted version of their history for tourist consumption. Even if a slightly blurred perspective of their history is reworked to omit specific eras, such as Franco's reign.

The Mallorcan dancers' embodiment of 'other' is a re-enactment of a historical legacy of their ancestral inheritance. The costumes further accentuate the romantic nationalism of the dances' origins and are not only adorned for tourists but provide locals with a sense of regional identity. The doubling of identity becomes a defensive response by the indigenous community to deal with the invasive nature of tourism and foreign residents. In tourist performances there is always a sense of the dancer or musician becoming another, who is representing the 'old way of life'. It is only when the 'other' - tourist - is not present, at this vanishing point, when the dancer and dance become one at the *ballada*.

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